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BOOK NOTES.

THE checks upon democratic government developed or proposed in the United States form the subject of two recent treatises. Dr. A. S. Hershey, fellow of Harvard University, publishes *Die Kontrolle über die Gesetzgebung in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Heidelberg, J. Hörnig, 1894) — a pamphlet which the writer tells us is the result of work done at Heidelberg in the seminar of Prof. Jellinek; and Sig. Francesco Racioppi gives us a book, *Nuovi Limiti e Freni nelle Istituzione Politiche Americane* (Milan, U. Hoepli, 1894). Both authors discuss the restraint imposed upon our legislatures by executive veto, by judicial interpretation of our written constitutions and by the referendum; and both recognize that the practice of submitting draft constitutions and special constitutional amendments to popular vote, coupled with the tendency to put all sorts of law into the constitutions, is bringing us rapidly to direct popular legislation in the Swiss sense. Both treat "local option" as a part of the general movement towards direct legislation, and both notice the numerous and minute restrictions imposed by our state constitutions upon the activity of our legislatures — Dr. Hershey very briefly, Sig. Racioppi at some length. Neither of these writers insists sufficiently upon the point that all the newer checks are imposed upon the *commonwealth* legislatures, and that no tendency is discernible to restrict the powers of Congress. Sig. Racioppi's field, as the title of his book indicates, is wider than Dr. Hershey's: he considers not merely the checks imposed upon the legislatures, but those imposed by the people upon the politicians and even upon themselves — for example, legislation regarding primaries, nominations, methods of voting and the representation of minorities; and he devotes separate chapters to discussing the development and tendencies of the executive and of the judicial departments of government. There are few pending problems of a constitutional character that are not discussed, and the discussion is uniformly based upon accurate knowledge and characterized by sound political judgment. To the European reader such a book must be almost invaluable. To the American student it is extremely suggestive, because it forces him to regard many familiar problems from a fresh point of view; and very

encouraging, for with a clear view of the political evils under which we are suffering the author unites a firm belief that we are discovering or will discover the needed remedies.

S. R. Moffett, in *Suggestions on Government* (Rand, McNally & Co.), does much more than make some suggestions on government. He proposes an entirely new system of government, the characteristic feature of which is what he calls a "precinct assembly." These assemblies, confessedly devised in imitation of the town-meeting, are directly or indirectly and singly or by groups to elect all officers, whose terms are not to be fixed, but subject to termination at any time by the precinct assemblies through whose action the offices were originally filled. The scheme is very ingenious and is apparently complete in all its details; but like all schemes of a similar character, it must be regarded rather as an ideal indicating general lines of advance than as a means of practical reform for the immediate future. Apart from this somewhat chimerical scheme, the author makes some very valuable suggestions. His remarks upon the referendum or direct legislation, which is an essential part of the scheme, are interesting; and he pleads wisely and well for a more concentrated form of governmental organization, in order to insure a concentrated responsibility, for a more complete separation of legislative from administrative powers, and for a greater realm of local autonomy. The criticisms of the various plans of proportional representation show how confused and undigested that concrete plan of reform is at the present time.

In *Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Staat und der Zeitungspressen im Deutschen Reich* (Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1895), Dr. E. P. Oberholtzer, member of the editorial staff of the *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph* and sometime fellow of the Wharton School, gives in rather clumsy but quite intelligible German a *résumé* of the laws affecting the editing and publishing of newspapers in Germany and of the construction placed upon these laws by the supreme court of the empire. The introduction to the pamphlet and a few closing remarks are devoted to the "science" of journalism. This, on examination, reduces itself to the more or less obvious statements that the prime function of a newspaper always has been and still is to give the news; and that the character of newspapers is determined by the financial interest of the proprietors, the taste of the public, the intellectual outfit of the editors, reporters and correspondents, and, negatively at least, by the restraints of the law. There is a plea for the special academic training of journalists and for the institution of

government examinations, which all who intend to become journalists must pass.

The monograph habit exhibits its influence once more in the *Staats- und Völkerrechtliche Abhandlungen*, the publication of which, under the editorial charge of Professors Jellinek and Meyer, was begun last year (Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot). The first three numbers, which are before us, fully justify, if anything can, the new enterprise in this field. Dr. Rudolf Treumann's *Die Monarchomachen* is a very scholarly study of the political theories of that group of sixteenth-century writers for whom Gierke resurrected the collective name by which the author designates them. The second number of the series deals also with the history of political theories, but more especially on the constitutional side. It is by Professor Jellinek himself, and its title is *Die Erklärung der Menschen- und Bürgerrechte*. The author's reputation as a publicist makes especially gratifying his assignment to the men of the American Revolution of the chief credit for the development of that most useful constitutional practice—the formulation of bills of rights. Dr. Jellinek adopts and clearly sets forth the genesis of such written declarations in the history of the English Puritans, and the transfer of the idea to America. His treatment of the subject is on the historical side largely on the lines laid down by Borgeaud and Osgood (*POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY*, vol. vi). He particularly combats the idea that the French "Declaration of the Rights of Man" was based on Rousseau's *Contrat Social*, and shows by parallel columns its similarity to the early American documents. The third number of the series, by Professor Meyer, is on *Der Staat und die Erworbenen Rechte*. This is a clearly written presentation of certain questions on the border line between public and private law. To the American reader the solutions appear so easy and simple as to excite wonder that they should have to be given at all. It is evident, however, from the adversaries cited by Professor Meyer, that many German jurists are very far from lucidity in their conceptions of state and of rights.

The translation of Rousseau's *Social Contract* put forth, with an introduction and notes, by Henry J. Tozer (London, Sonnenschein; New York, Scribners, 1895) is a good and useful piece of work. The rendering into English is faithful and intelligent; the historical and critical introduction is adequate and for the most part accurate; and the notes excellently fulfill the functions of illustration, suggestion and comparison. Mr. Tozer assigns at least all due importance

to the influence of Rousseau on the French Revolution. Perhaps a little more care should have been taken to indicate that he furnished the phrases and formulas rather than the ideas and motives of the revolutionists. It is easy to create the impression that the *Contrat Social* and the Revolution were related more as cause and effect than as joint effects of common causes.

The *History of Modern Europe*, since the outbreak of the Revolutionary wars, has never, on the whole, been better or more succinctly told than by Mr. C. A. Fyffe. His publishers, Messrs. Holt & Co., have therefore done good service to the student in issuing the whole of the work in a single volume. While certain parts might have been abridged without loss, any considerable condensation would inevitably have marred an account, which is, so to speak, already reduced to its lowest terms. The publishers have therefore wisely chosen to include the whole text of the original edition.

At his death Professor Tuttle, of Cornell, left an installment of his *History of Prussia* ready for the printer. The publishers, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., recognizing that any attempt to continue the work from the author's notes would practically turn over the continuation to new hands, determined to publish the present section in a separate volume. It includes but one hundred and fifty pages, covering the brief but important period from the seizure of Saxony (August, 1756) to the battles of Rossbach and Leuthen at the close of the next year. The volume is preceded by a biographical sketch of the unfortunate historian, written by Professor Herbert B. Adams. Those unacquainted with Professor Tuttle's brilliant career will find much of interest in the description of his early life as a newspaper correspondent in Europe.

In a third volume Mr. Sharpe completes his *History of London and the Kingdom* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1895). The period covered in this part of the work is from the accession of the House of Hanover to the Reform Bill of 1832. Its character is the same as that of its two predecessors, which were reviewed in this *QUARTERLY*, vol. x, p. 350. The most valuable matter contained in this volume is in the appendix, in which is printed a selection of documents from the archives of the city falling between the beginning of the fifteenth and the close of the eighteenth century.

An ambitious *History of the Scandinavians in the United States* (Minneapolis, O. N. Nelson) is being compiled and edited by Mr. O. N. Nelson, assisted by a large corps of contributors, assistant editors and revisers. To the first volume, which is already pub-

lished, the editor contributes interesting accounts of Scandinavian characteristics and history, of the migration to America and of Scandinavians in Minnesota, a chapter of statistics relating to the Scandinavians in America, and two bibliographies. Other contributors write of such subjects as "The Icelandic Discoveries of America," "The First Swedish Settlement in America," "Scandinavians in the Sioux War in 1862"; and give historical sketches of the principal religious bodies among the Scandinavian-Americans. The second half of the volume is devoted to biographical notices of the more successful Scandinavians in Minnesota. Inhabitants of other states are to be similarly dealt with in the succeeding volumes.

Le Homestead aux États-Unis, by L. Vacher (*Paris, Guillaumin et Cie*) affords another instance of an American institution first studied in a scientific way by a foreigner. There is in this country no work written from an economic point of view on the American homestead; and the present book is the first to appear elsewhere. M. Vacher describes the public domain of the United States and the origin, the evolution and the effects of exemption laws. His conclusions are favorable to the institution; and he expresses the belief that starting from America, it is destined to "encircle the globe, like the flag of Lafayette."

The third part of Dr. Warschauer's *Geschichte des Socialismus und Communismus im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, Hermann Bahr, 1896) is devoted to the life and work of Louis Blanc. The biographical material is so chosen as partly to explain the character of Louis Blanc's theories. Significant in this way are the loss that his family sustained through the fall of Joseph Bonaparte in Spain, the pecuniary straits to which Louis Blanc himself was reduced, and his Hannibal-like vow of enmity against the existing economic order. Important also were his extended period of association with workmen at Arras, and his introduction to a journalistic life in connection with a democratic paper. The stirring events amid which his public life was passed furnished the opportunities for action the trend of which was determined by earlier influences. They permitted him to become a practical socialist; but they tempered his socialism and prevented him from becoming a communist of the prevalent type. Dr. Warschauer's analysis of his works is particularly clear and comprehensive.

The first three volumes of Professor Ashley's *Economic Classics* (Macmillan), consisting of chapters from Adam Smith, from Malthus and from Ricardo, seemed to us an inadequate substitute for the

thorough study of the masters, and likely to encourage superficiality rather than scholarship. The same criticism does not apply to the more recent volumes, namely, Thomas Mun's *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade*, Richard Jones's *Peasant Rents*, and Gustav Schmoller's *The Mercantile System*. They are calculated to give the student glimpses into the real economic life of the seventeenth century, and as such are valuable substitutes for secondary sketches of economic history. Schmoller's essay will also serve as a specimen of the best work done by the German historical school of economists.

The Bulletin of the Department of Labor (Washington), begun last November, has now reached its fourth number, and has already shown its value. Each number contains a digest of recent reports of state bureaus of statistics, of other statistical documents, American and foreign, and of decisions of courts affecting labor, besides short papers on special subjects. Of these latter the most important yet published are an essay on "Industrial Communities," by W. F. Willoughby, and an account of "Strikes and Lockouts in the United States, 1881 to 1894," which gives the important results of the forthcoming volume on that subject. The *Bulletin* is admirably conceived, and renders available a vast amount of material which would otherwise escape the notice of even the diligent student. Mr. Holmes's oft-repeated figures of public and private debt, taken from "official or authentic reports," or "carefully prepared estimates," are of doubtful value. Unfortunately, an "official" report in this connection is not often "authentic."

In the latter part of last year appeared the first volume of a work entitled *La Législation du Travail* (P. Weissenbruch, Brussels, 1895) by the director of the Belgian *Office du Travail*, M. Ch. Morisseaux. This work received the *prix du Roi* offered for the best treatise upon the labor legislation of the principal countries of the world with a view to the needs and possibilities of Belgium in that field. The subject is confined strictly to "les dispositions légales qui gravitent autour du contrat de travail et qui règlent les rapports entre les divers facteurs de la production." It is further limited to laws now in force. The work is, however, more than a mere compilation. The author traces the historical origin of contemporary statutes, and sets forth the political, economic and industrial influences which have moulded them. In each case some account of the actual operation of the laws is also given. This volume is divided into three parts. The first two, devoted to concise and very general accounts of "*La Législation Corporative*" of the middle ages and

"*La Législation Mercantile*" of the period between the middle ages and modern times, really form a historical introduction to the whole work. The third part begins the subject proper and is devoted to Germany. The succeeding volumes, now in press, will take up in order Austria, Switzerland, England, the United States and France, closing with a discussion of conclusions applicable to Belgium. This will be the most complete work yet published upon the subject, promising from the extent of its detail to be almost encyclopædic. The volume already published indicates a careful and accurate work.

With the close of the tenth volume of its "Publications," the American Economic Association begins a new series, or rather two series. The first is entitled *Economic Studies*, of which six numbers will be issued annually. Each number will consist of an essay or a number of essays upon some subject of theoretic or practical interest. The second series will consist of larger *Monographs*, issued from time to time when material of a suitable nature has been secured. The new scheme will give greater flexibility to the publishing activity of the association, allowing it to follow the changing phases of economic thought and life for the benefit of its readers, while at the same time encouraging original work of less immediate interest. The first number of *Economic Studies* (Macmillan) comprises "The Theory of Economic Progress," by J. B. Clark, and "The Relation of Changes in the Volume of the Currency to Prosperity," by Francis A. Walker. The second number will contain three papers on the wages question, namely: "Gain Sharing," by H. R. Towne; "The Premium Plan of Paying for Labor," by F. A. Halsey; and "The Piece-Rate System," by F. W. Taylor.

The first number of the "Studies in Economics and Political Science" undertaken by the faculty of the London School of Economics and Political Science, and edited by Mr. W. A. S. Hewins, the director of the school, is a little book containing five lectures on *The History of Local Rates in England*, by Edwin Cannan (Longmans, 1896). Here many quaint and curious ancient customs and early statutory provisions are set forth; and the gradual evolution of the poor-rate is traced from its beginnings in voluntary offerings at the church, enforced after a time by the fear of ecclesiastical reproof and disfavor. In the final lecture on the "Assimilation of Other Rates to the Poor-Rate," the author shows how the poor-rate principle of taxation according to ability has been modified by the opposing principle of taxation according to benefit. Even the rates intended to be assessed according to ability have always ended by becoming rates on real

estate only; so that "in practice the nearest possible approximation to local rating according to ability, and the nearest possible approximation to local rating according to benefit, are one and the same thing, namely, the rating of persons in respect of fixed property in the district." Yet he concludes that the present system is more in accord with the principle of benefit than with that of ability, and properly so, because those local expenditures to which the principle of benefit is applicable have rapidly increased, while those which should be apportioned according to ability have been largely centralized.

La Mesure de la Valeur et la Monnaie, by Maurice Bourguin (Paris, L. Larose & Forcel, 1896), contains a theoretical study of value and money. The author denies that value is a quantity, and affirms that it consists entirely in reciprocal relations. Money is a commodity; it may figure in such relations, and may thus become a concrete expression for purely relative values. Of interest at present is his study of bimetallism. Professor Bourguin does not formally take the position of an advocate of the free coinage of silver; but he does inquire, as a dispassionate student, what results would follow from such a policy, and concludes that, if it were adopted by international agreement, prices in Europe would rise slowly, exchanges with the East would be rendered normal, and production in the West would be stimulated. It is the list of arguments that has many supporters in America. The avowed aim of the book may justify the author in contenting himself with reaching these conclusions; but the issues depending on the monetary policy of the world make it necessary for practical men to inquire even more carefully whether good or evil follows the stimulating of business by a cheapening of the currency, and whether, under such a policy, creditors are fairly treated. They make it further necessary to inquire whether such an international agreement would be faithfully executed by the contracting parties. Here lie the weaknesses of the policy of international bimetallism. For the free coinage of silver by a single nation like the United States, the book, to its credit, has no arguments to offer.

Mr. J. Schoenhof's *Money and Prices, from the Thirteenth Century to the Present Time* (Putnams, 1896), is not wholly successful. It lacks clearness and coherence; while it attempts to cover too much ground in a hurried if not superficial manner. At the same time, it contains a great deal that is interesting concerning the various influences bearing on prices. The first part of the book is a preliminary criticism of price theories and an arraignment, not always clear in itself, of the

quantity theory in particular. Part II continues the attack on the quantity theory by an appeal to history, and attempts to prove that the great price changes in the past have not been due to changes in the supply of the precious metals. Much of this is interesting, although it is too cursory and incomplete to be conclusive; while the author's substitution of single groups in his investigation for the aggregate of the index number, which he considers altogether untrustworthy, strikes the reader as less rather than more scientific than the common method. Part III is the most valuable portion of the book, and furnishes some definite information concerning the cheapening of the cost of production in recent years, which is very acceptable to all who do not believe in the scarcity of gold. The general effect of the book is weakened by the haziness of the author's own theory of the relation of the gold supply to prices. To hold that any particular fall in prices is not due to a scarcity of gold is one thing: to hold that in general and always the gold supply has little influence in determining gold prices is another thing, and a very absurd thing. Unfortunately, Mr. Schoenhof conveys the impression that this is his position in the matter of theory. In compensation he contributes some facts of real interest.

The Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States, prepared by the chief of the bureau of statistics (Washington, Treasury Department, 1896), surpasses in completeness anything which the bureau has heretofore issued. This compilation is of special value on account of the very full tables and diagrams, showing the imports and exports of gold from 1845 to 1895. It gives both the quantities and the values of all articles imported and exported, and the countries of origin or destination. In addition, it gives comparative prices of leading articles in the markets of the United States. *The Review of the World's Commerce*, issued by the State Department (Washington, 1896), is largely compiled from the volume just mentioned. It is in more convenient form; and is arranged by countries, so that the character of our trade with any particular nation can be easily studied. The two together give a very valuable collection of commercial statistics.